

301 /219 cont./

314 The making of this lip-plug is strictly prescribed and is regarded by the elders as a sort of religious act. Two different trees furnish the suitable resin; in the language of the Caiuás they are called: tembetá and caíul. The resin of the former is far more highly prized.

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The extraction and preparation are done in the following way: One peels the bark off a suitable trunk and in the peeled spot scratches a triangle, at the lower tip of which a small, hollow bamboo tube is fastened. The whole is covered with a large leaf. The bamboo tube is left for three to four weeks, until it is full of the slowly dripping resin. Then it is removed and the already hardened resin, which now has the desired shape of the lip-plug, is pulled out. It is dried well in the sun and smoothed with amambai leaves (7). -- The triangle, however,

7. Fern.

• [184]

may be incised only in the late afternoon, shortly before sundown. The man who does it must fast after midday and the following forenoon; drinking too, even pure water, is forbidden. Prayers are said during the cutting and the attaching of the bamboo.

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The Caiuás put great value on their tembetá; it is their tribal mark. "The tembetá to us is the same as the flag to the whites," an older man told me.

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The wife of the priest of magic likewise adorns herself with a chest band that bears tufts of feathers, and furthermore with chains of seeds. In former times the beak of the toucan was a favorite ornament of the women. -- Today the toucans have become rare as a consequence of the clearing of the forests and the advancing settlements. Since four toucans are needed for a diadem, new ones are scarcely made any more, and only the priests wear them on festive occasions. The young people no longer know how to make them around the bow string. -- /220/ In recent times chest bands that display silk tassels instead of feather tufts have appeared.

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disks. In this there are saporó maize kernels. Over the large bowl lies a cover made out of feather disks. The men form a

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Fig. 11. The row of women with the tacumbú dances and pounds with their instrument. This is done in connection with both religious ceremonies and greeting ceremonies.

semicircle around the stands and sing to the music of the rattles. Then the chief steps forward with his request and in connection with it also speaks of old and new customs.

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796 Thereupon the priest starts officiating. His followers place a white cloth on the ground, upon which he pours the contents of the calabash. He now speaks of Yacairá, who makes the saporó maize grow.

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[1784] At the last meeting of this kind, which I attended, he spoke of a great drought which would set in as punishment from Yacairá because the Caiuás were deserting the ancient practices and turning toward new customs and new religions. He was also punishing human beings for clearing the forests. The saporó maize would grow for another ten years, but no longer. -- The second priest and a few old men spoke in the same vein.

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178 Bananal, for example, I was told that the danger existed only for the "first Guarani who lived in the world, snakes bit, jaguars attacked, but here for us these things have not happened." And there is no doubt but that the progressive abandonment of the masculine post-parturition can be observed in many villages, particularly Nandéva. It is an inevitable consequence of the new conditions of life.

846 The resguardo measures to which the parents of the newborn baby subject themselves -- and which extend, or should extend, for the man up to the falling off of the umbilical cord, while for the mother they are prolonged perhaps for more than two weeks (some Indians spoke to me of some twenty or thirty days) -- are only partially ritualized practices and therefore should not be identified without further ado as "birth ritual." It is principally a matter of staying in the house, of being bound by the prohibition of activities and alimentary restrictions, the latter, so far as could be learned, more strict among the Mbã, who in general pay more attention to dietary problems.

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784 Thou shalt not work. This is the first commandment, particularly for the man, who must above all avoid the handling of iron tools and any iron implements; he does not work with ax or with scythe. The woman, for her part, stops doing heavy work: she does not wash clothes, she does not pound in the mortar, she does not work in the clearing. Thou shalt not walk through the forest -- is the second commandment; this one, to avoid the danger of the

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[184] odjépotá, at least among the Nandéva. Then there is a long list of foods prohibited for the father and the mother. Among the Nandéva of Araribá I was given the following diet: "They may not eat: fat, tatu /a kind of armadillo/, paca, quati /Procyonidae/, pork, jacu, no fruit, maize, cooked mandioca; they may not use salt or coffee; they may eat: beef, chicken, roasted mandioca; drink: only 'chá de açúcar' /sugar tea/, boiled honey." Certain /89/ informants made different enumerations, considering dangerous or "heavy" certain foods that others indicated as harmless. Everybody, however, insisted on the danger of certain meats from hunting, particularly tatu. -- Another commandment refers to

846 /89 cont./ --Another commandment refers to
[513] wakefulness: father and mother should sleep as little as possible.
[114] For the Mbîá there is, furthermore, the necessity of sexual
abstinence during the couvade, probably also for the Kayová and
Ñandéva; it is true that Marçal de Souza told me he did not know
of any special precautions in this respect.

In their conjunction, the precautionary measures appear in-
dispensable for the child's well-being, including the diet of father
and mother. It is not the father who gets sick in case he does not
[753] respect the dietary restrictions, but the newborn child; and the
mother's diet affects her and the child to whom she gives suck.

[823] The prohibition against disturbing steel likewise is for the child's
benefit. The Ñandéva from Araribá told me: "The father should
not disturb steel, because otherwise the child's navel will not
remain dry; the navel is ruined, because the steel is very strong."
[784] And as long as the navel is not healed, the mother, in turn, should
[184] avoid working with scissors, needle, and any other iron imple-
ments. (Among the Mbîá the woman is allowed to sew during
the period of resguardo.)

846 The threat that hangs over the parents is that of the odjépotá;
825 that is why they should stay at home and not sleep much. The ones who
"give the odjépotá" are the Arco da Velha /rainbow/ and "other
beasts," such as toads, snakes, and so on, animals in which
psychoanalysts would certainly tend to discover some sexual symbol-
ism. Odjépotá is the sad lot awaiting every man who, not re-
specting the prescription to stay at home when his wife was in
childbed, could not resist the temptation to go out hunting. The
first animal that he meets seems to him to be human, attracts
him, and he becomes odjépotá; in the words of an informant from
Bananal, "the beast gets mixed up with the man and the man re-
mains living with the beast for the rest of his life."

846 Concerning the danger of the odjépotá of the father, among
825 the Ñandéva there is a myth about a man who, disrespecting the
793 observances, goes off to the forest, where he meets a tadjatái
(queixada /white-lipped peccary/) in the form of a beautiful
woman, whom he accompanies and who takes him into the midst
of the queixadas. He remains living amidst the queixadas, taking

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881 The father or the mother of the boy, or both, undertake to conduct him to the village where the celebration is held. During the period of the ceremonies, which in general extends up to May, [782] /96/ there are prayers every night and also during the day. "Be- [829] cause they do not have anything to do, only that prayer," according to the expression of the Indian Vicente of Amambai.

[756] Preliminarily the fianderú chooses and teaches the huitxá, "the chief of the kids" /Port. chefe dos guris/, who subsequently

[782] sings with his companions for many nights the prayers that he has learned, which are called kumumí porahéi. The boys "se resguardam" /guard themselves/, for they are in a state of (odjekhoakú) during this period which precedes the piercing and which can be prolonged for many months ("if the fianderú orders"); and after the ceremony, the resguardo continues until the wound is healed, "until the fianderú lets them go, it is the fianderú who should know." The boy that does not se resgarde /guard himself/ with enough care, "grows up badly," that is, "he has illnesses."

[762] The resguardo, which does not include fasting, consists mainly in the abstinence from meat. After the lip is pierced, the boy [752] nourishes himself on ripe bananas, principally avoiding mandioca flour, for otherwise it might get into the hole and it would be ruined (4).

4. /From p. 98 of the original source./

As a curiosity I shall note that in the interior of São Paulo there is the belief that, after they pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings, the girls are supposed to abstain from certain foods, especially mandioca flour and eggs. (A personal communication from Ruth Corrêa Leite Cardoso.)

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• [784] The boys, of course, are also not allowed to work.

[252] The boys have their own cook, a spinster or a widow. A married woman cannot take on the task, for the cook should maintain sexual abstinence; if she sleeps with a man, the food would be bad for the boys. The woman may not, like any other woman, [834] be present at the ceremony of the piercing of the lip. [522]
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The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremonies. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

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The kunumí-pepy is not only a religious celebration for those being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant, Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

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The first refers to the flemonguy, the black dye of yváporoí (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the yvyráfjá, that is, an officiant assisting the flanderú or paí.

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The second prayer refers to the yvyrárakua, a wooden instrument for making the hole. The yvyráfjá also has the office of piercer -- the flanderú only gives orders -- he is seated on the apyká, the ceremonial bench; in front of him there is another apyká, on which is put first the /97/ "chief of the kids," or huitká, then in turn the others (called the ivódjá), who wait their turn seated in a line on a series of apyká to the right and left. The piercer always stays on the same apyká; the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another yvyráfjá, who stands beside the piercer, puts a tembetá-mirim in the newly opened orifice.

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The third prayer refers to the tembetá (5):

5. /From p. 98 of the original source./

The tembetá, measuring in general 8 to 15 centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tembetá-y (also called mbavý; in Portuguese: pau-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

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the winter, in September and October, that is, at the time of the "new leaves." In order to make the tambetá, one makes lousenge-shaped cuts in the bark of the pau-vidro, fastening under them a fine tube of taquary (a suitable taquara because of having quite long sections), into which the resin runs for about two days. One or two days after that, when the resin has hardened, the taquara is broken away, the tambetá is smoothed with lixa-do-mato /polisher-from-the-forest/ (ambá-y, a tree with rough leaves), the lower tip is filed with a knife, a stone splinter, or shard of glass, and a stud of the same resin is put on the upper part.

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the fourth is related to the spyhá; the fifth, finally, to the act of taking the boy out of the cubicle in which he is found, in order to take him to the center of the village plaza, where the ceremony is held. None of these prayers is taught to the candidates, who have their own songs.

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One point must be especially accentuated, the one at which the crisis state of those being initiated reminds one of the couvade. Thus, just as the father -- and, with him, the mother -- are subjected to a series of restrictions, not only for their own benefit, but above all for that of the newborn baby, the fíanderú who directs the kunumí-pepý, as well as the vyráfjá who help him, are bound by the resguardo until the boys are healed. They do not eat meat, do not come in contact with fire, do not take hold of knives, machetes, and other iron objects, having also to maintain rigorous sexual abstinence. All this until the boys are healed, because "otherwise the hole is ruined." The sexual resguardo mentioned here might well be qualified as a Tobias period.

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782 then played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians
424 considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively
114 refused to teach me his prayers, saying: "I do not want you to
[123] put them on the radio" (13).

13. /From p. 151 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the anthropologist much more difficult among the faithful Nandéva, when it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacaré confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Nandedjára, if he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Nandedjára ixedjuka," said Hilário. Among the Mbũs of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers abusing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

782 It is not easy to find out what the nature of the porahẽi is.
778 In the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression
774 that it is a matter /123/ of some quasi material, something like
an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer,
the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reification, which is
noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away"
a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it
is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is in-
carnated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and manifest
[192] itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be re-
membered that "soul" is translated ñeẽ or ayvũ, that is, language
or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, mean-
ing, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,
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775 which, according to the information of Marçal, also occur among
177 the Kayová of that village. Sometimes, when during thunder-
184 storms the clouds are driven in a certain direction by the wind,
775 they think they hear a /144/ kind of bubbling, which is attributed
776 to the boiling of the pot of the devil (añi). The devil catches the
[82] souls, throwing them alive into a big pot, where he boils them
in order then to eat them, perhaps a reminiscence of anthropoph-
agy. Every soul of the dead runs the risk of ending up in dishes

775 of the devil. As an educational means in order to prevent the
misfortune, children are never allowed to go over a net /Port.

776 rde, net, hammock/ extended in the hut, but only underneath it.

869 This is because, after death, on the road to the other world, every

• 784 soul must go through the realm of añi. Besides the "condemned"
souls, the devil also wants to catch the "innocent ones." He has
hung a series of nets transversely across the path of the souls; any-
one who tries to go over them runs the danger of slipping and
possibly being seized. It is important, therefore, to breed in the
children the habit of always going under the nets, throwing it back
over their shoulders. This prescription then is primarily a measure
of prudence and not a moral prohibition. And the belief in the
775 pot of the devil, although taken perhaps from medieval Christianity,
776 has been deftly combined with the "obstacle course" that the
177 Nandéva and Kayová mythology requires of every soul of the dead.
[82]

But there is no doubt that the Christian concepts are gaining
ground. There are those who talk about the judgment of the soul
by añi, saying that the latter makes it jump over a net in order
to see whether it slips and therefore to discover whether it is guilty
or not. One of the gravest faults revealed by the ordeal is disre-
spect or disobedience toward the parents. This is already clearly
not a matter of ability, but of guilt. The distinction between
good and evil is assumed.

It is not difficult either to perceive that the Guaraní religion,
771 when it is exposed to constant comparison with the Christian
177 doctrine and, especially, to the criticisms of the "nationals" or
178 the "civilized," little by little stops being taken by its adepts as an

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77 spirits, which the Kayová doctrine mentions. Furthermore, the
18 margin of individual variability in the interpretation of the world,
177 far from imposing a rigorously closed doctrinary body on the /183/
Guaraní believer, trains him for ample tolerance with regard to
incongruences or even contradictions. It is probable that in
ancient times, when Nandéva, Mbñá, and Kayová families did
not yet live together in one and the same village, the beliefs and
ceremonies of each one of the subtribes constituted a more rigid
and well defined whole.

[783] Among the contemporaneous Guaraní, religious acculturation
proceeds parallel to the adoption of new moral ideas, among them
that of individual guilt. The Guaraní religion, one must insist on
this, does not, except vaguely, recognize free will as a basis for
the evaluation of human actions with regard to the fate of the soul
post mortem. Good and evil are not qualities inherent in the
actions of the individual, but necessary consequences of the nature
of the one who performs them. Although susceptible of supernatural
● [784] sanction (perhaps by way of reward or revenge), the author is not
considered morally responsible for his actions.

[785] It is in consequence of miscegenation and detribalization that
the ceremonies and feasts prescribed by the tribal religion are little
by little abandoned. For the realization of the great feasts the
presence of all the members of the group is required; in most cases
it is not possible to assemble everybody, because there is always
someone to be found abroad, working on a fazenda or yerbal. And
furthermore, if it is certain that the Guaraní religion constitutes
the "nucleus of resistance" of the tribal culture, it is no less cer-
tain that the religion is the first thing rejected by the mestizos.
Because of the cultural disivellation stemming from that, there
is no ground for a communitary spirit that would join together
the pure and mestizo Guaraní. Were it not for their common
position before the white man, the fact that they share with the
Guaraní up to a certain point the situation of relative disdain in
which caboclos and coastal people always put them, the mestizos,
not infrequently characterized as being maliciously clever and
troublemakers, would soon disown their native ancestry.

/37 cont./

000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

881 On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they
562 shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no
[515] person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother
of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, be-
sides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the
girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual
periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From
[262] then on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions
[431] that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl
during the first menstruation. On this occasion the father also
usually gives the girl a new dress.

The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six
years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the com-
munity between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated.
There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the
age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points
of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in gen-
eral terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March,
[796] the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large com-
[346] munal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of
[252] the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked
there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During
[869] the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they re-
ceive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes
on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.

[304] /38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to
install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays
measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of
[273] the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before
the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha,
[593] which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the adminis-
tration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being
initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each
[352] boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father
of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small

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881 /38 cont./

562 son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because
(352) it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be
(784) born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the re-
(843) striction had not been observed. For this reason the man may
(824) ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's
son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man
has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of
maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks
maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking
him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

(178) Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large
(184) number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance
(304) in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his
(753) lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a
(262) biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent be-
(753) fore his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip
pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily
appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the
ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat
beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later
be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states
of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but
(824) it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays,
however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and
eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the
bad effects of the meat.

581 Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important
(594) social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/
place it establishes a new series of social relations for the indi-
viduals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place,
the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elemen-
tary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society.
584 It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the
178 changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá
kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young
man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,